

THE GREEN BAG

AN ENTERTAINING MAGAZINE FOR LAWYERS

EDITED BY
THOS. TILESTON BALDWIN

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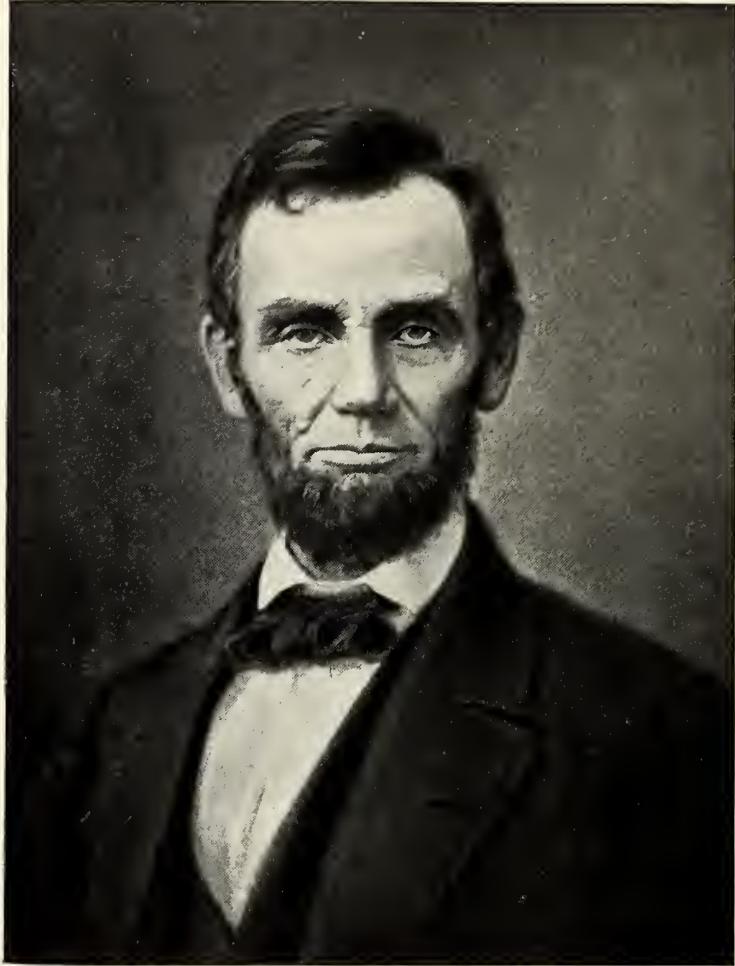
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*Complete
Duane Mowry
Lawrence
Sullivan*



A. Lincoln

The Green Bag.

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FEBRUARY, 1903.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BY DUANE MOWRY.

A FEW years ago the children of the late William Lloyd Garrison told the story of their distinguished father's life in four large volumes. In doing this, they very naturally, perhaps unavoidably, gave considerable prominence to the slavery question, with which their father was, for so many years, intimately identified. Incidentally, Abraham Lincoln is made to figure somewhat conspicuously on the pages of these volumes. For no history of slavery and of the slave-power in America would be complete which did not take into the reckoning the life and works of the martyred President.

Professor Goldwin Smith, a distinguished scholar, educator and critic, has occasion to consider, in a quite lengthy review, the last two volumes of this series, in an article in one of the English magazines, under the title of "A Moral Crusader." Professor Smith refers to the martyred President in the article in question and undertakes to place some estimate on the man and his place in history. I quote from the article:

"He (Garrison) did not at first give full confidence to Lincoln, nor was he, or any one but a blind partisan, called upon to do so. Lincoln was a Western politician who had risen by the same arts as the rest of his class, and had been nominated not so much for his merits as because he had the Illinois vote. He turned out infinitely better than those who brought him forward had any right to expect. His character proved admirable, and was most useful in giving tone

to the nation during the struggle. But his ability, after all, was chiefly shown in keeping that touch with popular sentiment, the cultivation of which is the supreme study of the politician. The writers of these volumes have to admit that his plans for dealing with the slavery question in the Border States by means of indemnities were mistaken and almost fatuous. Nor can it be said that the war was ably administered while the management was in his hands. The great service which Grant rendered was that of taking the war out of the hands of all the civilians and grasping it as his own. Of finance Lincoln was ignorant, and the story was credible which made him, when told that the funds ran low, ask whether the printing-machine had given out. How he would have dealt with the most difficult problem of all, that of Reconstruction, nobody knows. Lincoln's martyrdom to the great cause, so combined with the pride felt in exalting an American 'railsplitter' above all the statesmanship of the Old World, have, we cannot help thinking, led the Americans to raise Lincoln to an unapproachable pinnacle of glory as a statesman on which, when the final judgment of history is pronounced, he will hardly remain. America may yet produce a greater man."

It is well known that Professor Smith is not a native-born American, although he is not a stranger in our country and is not unfamiliar with our people and our institutions. He has lived in this country for some years; he has been connected with some, or at least,

one, of our great educational institutions, as an instructor; he is, confessedly, a scholar of national and international reputation. But mere scholarship, however profound and cosmopolitan, cannot be urged as excuse or justification for the errors or bias of judgment. Such mistakes, coming from such a source, are rather accentuated and emphasized, and the author of them merits the application of more rigid tests and a severer arraignment, than would otherwise be accorded him.

It is difficult for Americans to fully understand how a scholar and a critic of Professor Smith's acknowledged ability and learning could be responsible for such remarkable utterances as appear in the above quotation. They certainly do not comport with current public opinion; they have the stamp of historical inaccuracy; they ignore certain constitutional powers of the President; they misstate, or, at least, misinterpret, certain statements of the President; they belittle pre-eminent qualities in the Chief Executive of a representative form of government; they fail to fairly comprehend the facts of our political history; they dignify mere rumors and attempt to treat them as historical truth; in fine, the quotation is practically unsupported by the record, and contemporaneous history repudiates the sentiments therein expressed as false, or unjust, or prejudiced. The loyal American heart will give little heed to these sentiments, and impartial history will find no place for their lodgment.

But to return to the consideration of the specific criticisms of Professor Smith. Mr. Lincoln was not nominated for President by the Republican National Convention in 1860 because "he had the Illinois vote." Illinois was not a pivotal State in the national campaign of 1860. Its electoral vote could have gone to any of the other presidential candidates, and still there would have been a sufficient number of electoral votes left to elect Mr. Lincoln.

The Republican party, in national conven-

tion assembled, had declared in its platform against any further extension of slavery "into any or all of the Territories of the United States, as a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of the Constitution, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent." The platform also maintained "that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States must and shall be preserved." With these cardinal principles of the Republican party Mr. Lincoln was in hearty accord, and was known to have taken strong and advanced ground to the advocacy of them, both in public utterance and private statement. His record was clear, pronounced and unmistakable. It was the knowledge of this record which finally determined a majority of the delegates to support Mr. Lincoln in the convention for the Presidency, and not because "he had the Illinois vote." Professor Smith is the first and only person, so far as the writer knows, who has ever suggested Mr. Lincoln's strength in his adopted State as a final reason for his availability as a presidential candidate in 1860.

It is true, as Professor Smith says, that Mr. Lincoln was "a Western politician," if by that is meant that he was born, raised and lived in the West, as it was then known and called. But it is not true that his availability was solely or mainly determined by his shrewdness and skill as a political manipulator. Ante-dating the National Republican Convention of 1860, Mr. Lincoln had gained something more than a local reputation as a lawyer, had served one term in Congress with credit, declining a re-nomination, and had, in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas on the hustings, aroused the entire country, secured for himself a national reputation as an orator and debater, and demonstrated his fitness and qualifications for the highest office in the gift of the people. It has been truly said that these "speeches of Lincoln, circulated and

read throughout the Union, did more than any other agency to create the public opinion which prepared the way for the overthrow of slavery. The speeches of John Quincy Adams and of Charles Sumner were more learned and scholarly; those of Lovejoy and Wendell Phillips were more vehement and impassioned; Senators Seward, Hale, Trumbull and Chase spoke from a more conspicuous forum; but Lincoln's were more philosophical, while as able and earnest as any, and his manner had a simplicity and directness, a clearness of statement and felicity of illustration, and his language a plainness and Anglo-Saxon strength, better adapted than any other to reach and influence the common people, the mass of the voters." Shall it be said that such a man had "no merits" to commend him to the National Convention of 1860; that it was by "the arts of the politician" that his nomination was made possible? If such an explanation of the reasons for Mr. Lincoln's nomination is accepted, the truths of history will have to be expunged, and the recorded evidence of his contemporaries will have to be disregarded.

Professor Smith assures us that "his ability, after all, was chiefly shown in keeping that touch with popular sentiment, the cultivation of which is the supreme study of the politician." One would be led to infer that Professor Smith regarded "keeping in touch with popular sentiment" as a most reprehensible quality in any person, particularly, in a public servant, which should be never encouraged. But is it unworthy to keep close to popular opinion? Who is the servant of the people supposed to represent? Certainly, not himself solely. But, instead, those who have invested him with power and responsibility. In a Democracy, therefore, the ability to measure the popular feeling correctly indicates something more than negative qualities in those who serve the people, and should always be encouraged.

It is doubtless true that Lincoln's close and just estimate of the public pulse, from time to time, was of invaluable service to him as the nation's ruler. It assisted him in forming opinions. It told him when was the opportune time to publish the Emancipation Proclamation. It guided him in his action with reference to the removal of General McClellan.

Mr. Lincoln was a courageous and a patient man. He bided his time. But when the occasion came for action, he acted, promptly, fearlessly, effectively. It is not true, however, that Lincoln followed in the wake of popular sentiment. He made public sentiment, and was able to lead the people, the great majority of them, at least, to his way of thinking and doing upon public questions of immediate importance. This is well illustrated in his method of getting rid of slavery in our fair land. It was no part of the original purpose of the Republican party to abolish slavery in those States where it was firmly established. And it was Mr. Lincoln's first and highest duty, always, to maintain the Union of the States. With the advance of the terrors of war, it came to Mr. Lincoln, as it did not come to the ultra anti-slavery propagandists, that the time was propitious for publishing the Emancipation Proclamation. He was not called upon to do so by any behests or tenets of his party. But his great heart and conscience had told him that the institution of slavery was wrong, was inherently wrong. And he was able to measure public opinion so accurately, that when the time came for the promulgation of this great document of freedom, he was handsomely, even enthusiastically, sustained by the people. He did not even ask the advice of his Cabinet as to the main proposition. That he had determined without any human assistance.

Yes, Lincoln was able to keep in close touch with public sentiment. But he was never led by it to the prejudice of the com-

mon weal. In a true Democracy, this wonderful ability is always an element of great strength, and its intrinsic value in a public servant cannot be over-estimated. It is easy to see how a mere aristocrat, or one with aristocratic notions or tendencies, discounts such qualities in a public servant. Yet it is a truism, in a representative government, that the most efficient and the most successful public servants are those that hew close to the lines indicated by enlightened public sentiment and opinion.

But it is not true that Lincoln's ability was mainly manifested in the cultivation of the approving smile of the multitude. Nor does it anywhere appear that he sacrificed the interests of his constituents for such recognition. His ability to take the public pulse accurately was intuitive. And he took it, not that he might shape his official policy by it, but in order the better to determine how far, in what direction, and to what extent, the uncertain and fickle masses would sustain *his* policy. Mr. Lincoln's advisors and those holding confidential positions in his administration during the dark days of the Civil War, unhesitatingly declare that he was always a leader and never a blind follower. It is submitted that such characters do not ride to distinction, and influence, and power, on a popular wave of approval.

Mr. Lincoln was essentially a man of peace. It nowhere appears that he was in favor of war. How earnestly he tried to convince the South, in his First Inaugural, of his purpose to allow it to remain in peace with the institution of slavery, is well known. By proposing indemnities for slaves it was his hope and desire to avoid bloodshed. Not only was such a course commendable from a purely humanitarian point of view, but it was also wise and politic, as subsequent events demonstrated. For it contributed to the making of public opinion in favor of the maintenance of the Union by using forcible means to suppress the impending crisis, if peaceable means

proved unavailing. Mr. Lincoln and the political party which placed him in power, were committed to that proposition. The policy of his administration, during the early part thereof, involving, as it did, negotiations and peaceable methods of solving threatening problems of portentous dimensions in the South, was not "mistaken" or "fatuous," but statesmanlike, noble, and wise. It was amply justified by the feverish condition of the public pulse, was in exact accord with the spirit of American thought and American institutions, and was, moreover, thoroughly philanthropic.

It is Professor Smith's conviction that "the war was not ably administered while the management was in Lincoln's hands. The great service which Grant rendered was that of taking the war out of the hands of all civilians and grasping it as his own." Mr. Smith evidently forgets, or, perhaps, he did not know, that the President is made, *by the Constitution*, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. And it matters not whether it is Grant at the front winning victories from the enemy, or McClellan losing battles and prestige. The responsible head is always the same. And it was Lincoln who saw the necessity for a change of leaders in the field, when Grant was placed first in command of the army at the front.

But Mr. Smith's opinions of Mr. Lincoln as a military man are again at fault. General Sherman has said that Mr. Lincoln's military views, as evidenced in his correspondence with his generals, was remarkable for its correctness. General W. F. Smith says that he "has long held to the opinion that at the close of the war Mr. Lincoln was the superior of his generals in his comprehension of the effect of strategic movements and the proper method of following up victories to their legitimate conclusions." Another prominent army officer calls Mr. Lincoln "the ablest strategist of the war." With such opinions from such sources, what wonder is it that

final victory should crown the efforts of such a great military man, although a civilian?

Whether or not Mr. Lincoln ever made the remark attributed to him by Professor Smith about "printing more money" is exceedingly doubtful. Mr. Smith refers to it as a "story," which it likely is, and offers no proof of its genuineness. If it was ever said, it must have been uttered jocosely and not seriously. No one believes that Lincoln, possessed as he was with hard, sound sense, was capable of such an utter want of business judgment or political foresight. The merest schoolboy would not have the audacity to seriously suggest it.

What would have been Lincoln's reconstruction policy no one can certainly know. It is easy enough to indulge in speculations about it now. It is a harmless pastime. The best thought of the period immediately succeeding the Civil War, however, believed that the reconstruction policy which Mr. Lincoln would have inaugurated, had he lived, would have been more efficient, more satisfactory to the South, and, withal, more in keeping with lofty ideals of a democratic government, than the policy pursued by President Johnson. Certain it is that Mr. Johnson's policy of dealing with the South was a mistaken one. The rest is, and must be, unwritten and unknown history.

Possibly, upon some of the intricate details of governmental affairs, Lincoln would not have proved an adept. So far as there have been actual tests made he was generally right. His measure of men for high position in the public service was well nigh intuitive. Not only were his appointments generally wise, but rarely could there have been better selections made. This is evidenced in his appointment of Mr. Seward as Secretary of State; of Mr. Stanton as Secretary of War; of Mr. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury, and later, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The list could be increased almost indefinitely. And it was not mere partisanship

which dictated appointments. There was always uppermost the patriotic impulse, and the clear, discriminating, statesmanlike quality.

Mr. Lincoln has so far been discussed from a negative viewpoint. Some criticisms, which tend to detract from, and to cast a reflection on the great name and fame of the martyred President, have been taken as a text. An attempt has been made to reply to these criticisms. Let us now examine some of the positive qualities which have made the great and growing fame of Abraham Lincoln. For that that fame is both great and growing is no longer an open question. Let us ascertain, if possible, why that fame is increasing, why its universality, whence its greatness.

Abraham Lincoln was a typical American. He was the best product which distinctively and exclusively American conditions and environments were capable of evolving. His intimate acquaintance with poverty in his early life, his close relations with the lower and poorer classes in his young manhood, his inherent love of justice for all ranks and conditions of men, his love of truth, his hatred of wrong, pointed to him as essentially the fittest representative of the people, and especially of the plain people, which this country had ever produced. His education and experiences had prepared him for great, for supremely great effort, in behalf of whatever cause he chose to become identified. This was not alone indicated by his great endurance, physical and mental. It was manifest in a carefully trained mind, trained it is true, under the administration of a noble mother, in early life, supplemented, however, by the behests of a laudable ambition, and an industry which was simply herculean. To this mother he has been known to say, when President, that "all I am or hope to be, I owe." She it was who taught him to read and enjoined upon him never to swear, never to touch liquor, and never to lie, injunctions

which he always obeyed. When it was remembered that this "sainted mother," as he chose to call her, passed into the shades while her son was in his ninth year, one can form some estimate of the great force of character, deep religious feeling and practical common-sense possessed by her. Only such a mother would be able to leave an impress on the young life of her devoted son at such a tender age. What wonder is it, then, that such a life should become great so soon as the occasion came to develop its latent powers? Why marvel that a mere "rail-splitter" and flat boatman of the Mississippi should be the chosen guardian of a great and free people?

Not only was Lincoln the best type of which American soil and atmosphere was capable of producing, but he was, in spite of any and all other considerations, inherently great, great as a man, great as a lawyer, great as a reformer, and great as a statesman. And what is greatness, as applied to the individual? Undoubtedly, it is a relative term, which has various and varying significations, according to the time when, and the place where, and the circumstances to which, it may be applied. But a somewhat general and not too technical definition may be expressed in this wise: Greatness, as applied to men, is that quality of head, and of heart, and of soul, as exemplified in thoughts, in acts, and in deeds, wherein one person towers immensely above the common mass, one whose qualities fit him to be, essentially, a leader of men, and not a blind follower. Greatness, as thus defined, places the name of Lincoln in the first and highest position on the American escutcheon. This estimate will be questioned by the admirers of the "father of his country." There are many who believe that the name of Washington cannot yet give way to that of Lincoln. And while there is no claim made that the illustrious name and fame of Washington has grown any less with

the advancing years, it is insisted that Lincoln and his work have become better understood, the unselfishness of his motives better appreciated, the loftiness of his patriotism and the wisdom of his policy better fixed in the public mind, and the integrity of his purpose and the doggedness of his zeal to do the right as he understood it, more clearly indicated by contemporaries, with the progress of the years. These, and a multitude of parallel considerations, induce us finally to believe, not that the light of the fame of Washington has grown dimmer, but that the fame of Lincoln has grown brighter, has become greater, as the truths of history have become developed and understood, as the clear sunlight of unprejudiced investigation has been let into some dark historical corners.

Some one has said that there are two classes of men whose life-work is the most enduring monument—the great writers, and the men of great achievement. The same authority places Lincoln in both categories. Few of us would have been inclined to place Mr. Lincoln in the lists of the great writers, and it is doubtful if Lincoln would have ever regarded himself as a man of letters. And yet Emerson ranks him with Æsop in his lighter moods. He says: "The weight and penetration of many passages in his speeches, letters and messages, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined to wide fame. What pregnant definitions, what unerring common-sense, what foresight, and on occasions, what lofty, and more than national, what human tone! His brief speech at Gettysburg will not easily be surpassed by words on any recorded occasion."

These words are found in Lincoln's Second Inaugural: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God will that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every

drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and all nations."

Of the foregoing it has been asked: "Where, since the days of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, is the speech of emperor, or ruler, or king, which can compare with this Inaugural? Where else, but from the teaching of the Son of God, could he have drawn that Christian charity which pervades the last sentence, in which he so unconsciously describes his own moral nature: *'With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.'* No other state paper in American annals, not even Washington's Farewell Address, has made so deep an impression upon the people as this great document."

Mr. Lincoln's logical mind and clearness of mental and political vision is well illustrated in his message to Congress at its first special session after he became the President, when he discusses the right of a State to secede and the "States' Rights" doctrine generally. In that message he says:

"They [the Southern leaders] invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the incidents to complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is that any State of the Union may *consistently* with the National Constitution, and therefore *lawfully* and *peacefully* withdraw from the Union without the consent of the Union or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just

cause, themselves to be the sole judge of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice. . . .

"This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a *State*—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in our Union by the Constitution, no one of them ever having been a State *out* of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even *before* they cast off their British colonial dependence, and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas; and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while the name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the 'United Colonies' were declared to be 'free and independent States'; but even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of *one another* or of the *Union*, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their action before, at the time, and afterwards abundantly show. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual is most conclusive. Having never been States, either in substance or in name, *outside* of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of 'States' Rights,' asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the 'sovereignty' of the States, but the word even is not in the National Constitution, nor, as it is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is 'sovereignty' in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it 'a political community without a political superior?' Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, ever was a sovereignty; and she even gave up the character

on coming into the Union, by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution to be for her the supreme law of the land. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status."

The foregoing is submitted, not for its matter, but for its manner of treatment of a great political and Constitutional question of that time. His exposition of the subject is unique and ingenious. It is more. The grasp of the problem is masterful and left little to be said by the friends of the Union. It was then for Congress to act in accordance with the reason which had convened it in special session. That this was done is already a matter of history.

It has already been said that Lincoln was the true type of an American. There seems to be no disposition to question this estimate. It is also conceded that he was great, great as a man of letters, and greater still in the world of achievement. Some definite testimony has been offered to show this greatness. It is also claimed that a fair interpretation of the judgment of contemporaries, a judgment that is never reversed, gives Lincoln the foremost place in the history of his country. Do the facts warrant the making of the claim? Can it withstand the strong sunlight of unprejudiced investigation and comparison? It is true that the name of Washington is close to the hearts of his countrymen. It may be admitted that he towered far above all of the men of his time. He had no competitors. The gratitude of his countrymen rebuked all rivalries and all jealousies. He was made the President by a practically unanimous vote. He was supported in the discharge of his duties by a confidence not confined by the boundaries of the Republic. He was easily the most prominent American of his time. He had been in the public mind for more than a quarter of a century. His loyalty to the cause of the Colonies was above suspicion. Still, he imbibed

the strong aristocratic notions and tendencies of his time. He was in strong contrast to the democratic Jefferson. He was, essentially and naturally, a man for a class rather than for the great mass. He was far from being close to the common people.

How stands the case with Lincoln? When nominated for the Presidency he was not widely known. Many would say he was practically an unknown public man. His public duties up to the time of his nomination had not been numerous or very important. He was not believed to have been personally very popular. The party he represented was not numerically very strong. His success at the polls was due to a division among his opponents. He was not the choice of the majority of the voters of the country.

Of course, both Lincoln and Washington were called to the highest office in the land at a critical period of our national life, the one to preserve, and the other to make it. It may be freely granted that each was great in his time. But there must be, and is, some unfaltering test by which it can be determined with reasonable certainty, who was the greater man. To ascertain this it is not necessary to detract from the fame which is securely Washington's. It is necessary, perhaps, to indicate and emphasize the qualities which make Lincoln pre-eminent.

Ralph Waldo Emerson has said: "Lincoln was a plain man of the people. He had a face and manner which disarmed suspicion, which inspired confidence, which confirmed goodwill. He was a man without vices. He had a strong sense of duty which it was very easy for him to obey. He had a vast good nature which made him tolerant and accessible to all. His broad good-humor, running easily into jocular talk, in which he delighted and in which he excelled, was a rich gift of this wise man. It enabled him to keep his secrets, to meet every kind of man, and every rank in

society. His occupying the Chair of State was a triumph of the good sense of mankind and of the public conscience. This middle-class country had got a middle-class President at last. Yes, in manners and sympathies, but not in powers, for his powers were superior. This man grew according to the need; his mind mastered the problem of the day, and as the problem grew so did his comprehension of it. In four years—four years of battle-days—his endurance, his fertility of resources, his magnanimity, were sorely tried and never found wanting. There by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the center of a heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people of his time—the true representative of this continent—the pulse of twenty million people throbbing in his heart, the thoughts of their minds articulated by his tongue.”

George S. Boutwell said: “President Lincoln excelled all his contemporaries, as he also excelled most of the eminent rulers of every time, in the humanity of his nature; in the constant assertion of reason over passion and feeling; in the art of dealing with men; in fortitude, never disturbed by adversity; in capacity for delay when action was fraught with peril; in the power of immediate and resolute decision when delays were dangerous; in comprehensive judgment which forecasts the final and best opinions of nations and of posterity; and in the union of enlarged patriotism, wise philanthropy, and the highest political justice, by which he was enabled to save a nation and to emancipate a race. He is the most commanding figure in the ranks of self-made men which America has yet produced.”

Americans are not hero-worshippers. That charge cannot be justly made against the American character. They are not given to much twaddling sentiment. They are an intensely practical people. They *do* respect, even revere, the memory, in fullest measure,

of a public servant for his unselfish devotion to public duty.

The American people do not regard Abraham Lincoln more or less because he was a “railsplitter,” or because he was ungainly, awkward, and uncouth. Their admiration of him comes from the fact that he was able to discern his great public duty during a critical period of the nation's existence; that he discharged that public duty faithfully, unselfishly, fully. The work of this great publicist, as it appears in the official records, will be ever held in great esteem and in grateful recollection by his countrymen. His public career is the choice legacy of future generations; his unblemished life and noble character will ever remain the inestimable heritage of all loyal Americans. His name and fame will continue to grow in public esteem for many decades to come.

It is possible that America may produce a greater American. It is certain that no one would wish to say that she shall not. To say, however, that she will do so is mere prophecy. Any one can indulge in that. It has slight significance. It is quite enough for our present purpose to know, that thus far, from the viewpoint of this paper, and as we maintain, in the light of the truths of history and of experience, as a distinctively American product, such a man has not appeared on the scene of action. Nor is it likely that the opportunity for developing such a national character will be offered the American people again. For a man to surpass the martyred President must not only be inherently great, but there must be conditions—opportunities—that will demand the use of those great qualities.

It is maintained, in conclusion, that Professor Smith's estimate of Abraham Lincoln, as hereinbefore quoted, is inadequate, unappreciative, and unjust. It fails to tell the truth. It is neither fact nor well-authenticated history.

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